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TODAY and TOMORROW

Big Surprises In Store

THE world is in ferment. Great changes in the political and military spheres are in the offing. The Big Three are in conference in Potsdam presumably to decide the fate of the world for generations to come. But the fate of the world has never been decided by statesmen at conference tables. There are greater factors to be reckoned with—factors which sometimes prove more formidable than military might.

For instance, at the close of the last war Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George never realized that defeated Turkey would be able to retrieve her honour and become a great nation. In spite of the Treaty of Versailles Germany rose to power and greatness. It therefore stands to reason that whatever decisions are taken by the Big Three at their meeting in Potsdam, they will be swept away by the irresistible surge of the forces that are periodically let loose on the world for the levelling of inequalities, and for the establishment of justice and equity.

War is a strange phenomenon. Outwardly it destroys, but it also creates where it destroys. In its hidden chambers are brewed forces which if harnessed wisely can do much good for the betterment of the world. Ireland utilized the last war to shake off the 700-year old yoke of the British and regain her independence. The present war in Europe hardly ended when Syria and Lebanon embarked upon a campaign for purging the French influence

The story of India, however, is tragic. During the last great war her leaders, unlike those of Ireland, failed to realize that England's difficulty is our opportunity, or rather realizing it, they refused to take advantage of it.

The present war did not find our leaders napping. They were quick to realize the wonderful opportunity India was presented with for securing her freedom. Accordingly, at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi the Indian National Congress passed the "Quit India" Resolution, and launched a movement to expel the British from India. The campaign that the Congress let loose on the country was unparalleled in India's struggle for freedom, and eclipsed all the former civil disobedience movements. This was a fight to the finish.

The British, however, by the use of their organized might succeeded in crushing the 1942/43 Rebellion which came within an inch of success. The Congress is once again in the wilderness. But it cannot be said that the situation is irretrievably lost. The war is still on. The Nipponese bulwark in East Asia has to be destroyed before the Anglo-Americans can claim to have won the war. That is a hard task. How hard it is no one realizes more than the Anglo-Americans themselves. Before the war ends in East Asia the world will be faced with many more surprises and the greatest surprise of this war shall be the emergence of India as a free country. All our strength and all our resources should be harnessed for that purpose.

Sikhstan Demanded If MuslimLeagueDemand For Pakistan Is Granted

If the Moslem League succeeds in its demand for Pakistan, Sikhs will demand a separate state of their own too, said Master Tara Singh, Sikh representative at the Viceroy's Conference, according to a Simla report of July 16. "The fact that Sikhs have been recognised as one of the four main elements in Indian National life whose consent is necessary for framing the constitution of India has made Pakistan an impossibility unless the Sikhs agree to it," he said.

Master Tara Singh went on "Pakistan is not an issue between Congress and the Moslem League as it has hitherto been wrongly considered. It is mainly a Sikh-Moslem question because Sikhs are mainly affected by it.

"So Moslems must recognise that just as they cannot submit to Hindu domination, Sikhs cannot submit to Moslem domination for the same if not better reasons. If the rest of India concedes Pakistan to Moslems, Sikhs will demand an independent Sikh state in central Punjab where the Sikhs have their holy places."

Potsdam Conference Now Enters Second Phase

Lisbon, July 19 (Domei)—American President Harry Truman, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet Premier Josef Stalin have now entered the second phase of their momentous talks at Potsdam, Denis Martin, Reuter correspondent, reported in a dispatch today from Potsdam.

He said it appears now that important preliminary objectives of the "Big Three" conference have been achieved.

The correspondent reported that main attention in Potsdam is still focussed on German problems, which cannot be lightly shelved as they effect Europe as a whole.

British Probe Repelled In Myitkyo War Front

Lisbon, July 19 (Domei)—The British South-east Asia Command Headquarters today said that Nipponese forces in Burma "reacted vigorously" when British troops attempted to probe their positions in the area of Myitkyo, in the lower Sittang River sector, according to a New Delhi dispatch.

It is also stated that Nipponese artillery massed in the lower Sittang River bend area had shelled Gurkha troops at Laya, north-west of Pegu.

Over 1,000 Foe Troops Blasted In Burma Zone

Burma Front, July 20 (Domei)—War results achieved by our forces up-to-date since crossing the Sittang River are now known to include more than 1,000 enemy troops killed or wounded, two planes shot down, and the capture or destruction of three ten-centimetre howitzers, two trenchmortars, three heavy machineguns, seven light machineguns and other war materials.

Detailed Programme For Grand Variety Entertainment Tomorrow

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At the Grand Variety Entertainment sponsored by Azad Hind Newspapers which will take place tomorrow at 7.30 p.m. at the Dai Toa Gekijo, Mr. Kakinomoto-Shichiro will present two inspiring songs "Chalo Delhi" (Delhi-Shingun) and "Conquer With Divine Fire" (Scikayuku) to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who has kindly consented to grace the occasion. These songs together with the Indian National Anthem and the song "Subhasji-Subhasji" will be played by the Syonan Ongaku Kyokai at the commencement of the function.

The following is the detailed programme of the second part of the show:

Item by Indian Independence League Orchestra; Song by Rani of Jhansi Volunteers; Flute (solo); A Group Dance; Jalatharangam with Violin and Flute; Group singing; Slides showing Netaji's Bust and latest pictures of "Netaji Week Celebrations" and other posters; Songs of Greater East Asia in pictures; National Anthem.

Azad Hind Day To Be Observed On July 25

The observance of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind Day which falls tomorrow, Saturday, July 21, has been postponed to Wednesday, July 25, when a mass meeting of Indians will be held. However, the National Tri-colour together with the Hinomaru should be hoisted over Indian homes and institutions tomorrow.

Hitler Still Alive? Startling Story About Mysterious Voyage To Argentina In German U-Boat

London, July 18.—A United Press report states speculation on pre-surrender activities of the Nazi U-Boat 530 created an aura of mystery, but responsible quarters decline to attach credence to latest reports, and it is vital that they better be authenticated.

Latest reports reaching London state that a rubber dinghy with several men made for the coast of Argentina, in a replica Berchtesgaden prepared and provisioned by the mysterious Polar Expedition of 1938. Implication is that U-Boat 530 transported Hitler and friends. Hitler and his wife Eva Braun, an actress whom he is reported to have married three days before the surrender of Berlin, is said to have taken up residence in an immense estate in bleak Patagonia.

Throwing further light on the Hitler mystery is a Reuter's report from Chicago:

Chicago, July 17.—The Chicago newspaper Times published today a dispatch from its Montevideo correspondent in which he says, "From information just received from Buenos Aires I am virtually certain that Hitler and his wife Eva Braun, the latter dressed in masculine clothes, landed in Argentina, and are on a German-owned estate in Patagonia. The pair were reported to have landed on the lonely shore from a German submarine which then returned to surrender to the Allies.

Meanwhile a British Foreign Office commentator recalls that the Argentine Government issued a communique shortly after the German submarine surrendered stating that no political passengers were aboard. It is unlikely that Britain would request a statement from Argentina on Hitler-Braun reports until or unless they are substantiated. British and United States representatives in Argentina are checking reports and seeking any likely evidence to bear out the suggestion that Nazi political figures have found a haven in Argentina.

Rift Between Chungking, Yenan Regimes Widens Communist Party Convokes Own Conference

Shanghai, July 18 (Domei)—As a demonstration of its opposition to the political leadership of the Chungking Kuomintang Party, the Yenan Regime has decided to convoke in Yenan on November 9, the day set for holding in Chungking of the Kuomintang constitutional reform congress, a conference of Chinese Communist Party delegates and influential civilians from all parts of China for speeding up the realization of a truly representative coalition government for the areas outside Nanking control, according to reliable information received here today.

The "Shin Hua Li Pao", influential Yenan journal, reported on July 15 that a special preparatory committee, including a 25-men executive board headed by Chou En-lai, was created on July 13 in order to facilitate the convocation of the conference in Yenan.

With the object of attaining a true reflection of the will of the people, Yenan authorities intend to invite not only party delegates from the areas under Yenan military control but representatives of worker, peasant, woman, youth, religious and cultural bodies as well as representatives from various organisations in the area under the influence of the Chungking Kuomintang.

Soviet Russia May Ask For Representation On BoardOfSuezCanalCo.

According to a Cairo report Russia may press for representation on the Board of the Suez Canal Company. It has created deep interest in Egypt, but according to well-informed quarters this question concerns neither the Egyptian Government nor the local board of the Canal Company.

It is even doubted if it is within competence of the Big Three to settle.

The Suez Canal Company has directors nominated by the British Government which holds a large block of the shares. Other directors have been appointed by the usual procedure of the Board proposing them for election at the annual meeting of the share-holders, and there are no directors representing governments which have no share-holders.

Soviet Trade Delegation Leaves Moscow For U.S.

Zurich, July 19 (Domei)—Reflecting the Soviet Union's keen interest in America's increasingly acute labour problem, a Moscow dispatch today said that a Soviet Trade Union delegation headed by Vassili Kuznetzov, who led the Soviet representation to the World Trade Union Conference earlier this year, has left Moscow for the United States. The Soviet trade delegation was invited by the American Congress of Industrial Organisation.

All Ternate Invaders Virtually Annihilated

Ternate Island, July 19 (Domei)—The mopping-up campaign against landed enemy forces on this island has been virtually completed.

The Nippon garrison force killed 200 enemy troops during the last stage of their clean-up operations. This means that the enemy invaders who effected a landing in the latter part of last month have been virtually wiped out.

135 Enemy Planes Downed Damaged In Kanto Dist.

Tokyo, July 20 (Domei)—The latest check-up of our interception war results revealed a total of 135 enemy carrier-borne aircraft is so far known to have been shot down or heavily damaged on July 18 during enemy raids on the Kanto district. Of these enemy aircraft bagged 82 enemy carrier-planes are listed as shot down and 53 others heavily damaged.

Russia Refuses Entry To American Newsmen

Lisbon, July 19 (Domei)—Russian authorities are continuing to refuse the entry of American correspondents into Russian zones of occupation in Eastern and South-eastern Europe, Joseph Grew, American Secretary of State, stated today, according to a Washington dispatch.

Netaji Correctly Assesses Gains And Losses Of Congress Working Committee In Participating In Simla Conference (Continued)

In his dispassionate study of the lessons of the Simla Conference which ended in a fiasco, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in a radio talk to India on Wednesday last emphasises that the Muslim League has lost nothing but gained much while the Congress gained nothing but lost much in the discussions for the formation of a new Executive Council.

The following is the final instalment of Netaji's broadcast, the first part of which appeared in our yesterday's issue:

Friends, I shall now deal with the losses and gains of the Congress. As to gains, there has been none. Cultivating the friendship of the Viceroy, to which the All India Radio special correspondent referred as one of the gains of the Simla Conference, is not the task of the Congress. I may go so far as to say that for an Indian nationalist cultivating the friendship of the arch-champion of British Imperialism in India is not only improper, but even criminal. To seek and foster friendship with one's enemies may be the work of flunkeys—or the method of "moderate" politicians—but it can never be the way of the Indian National Congress.

As to losses, I am quite definite that while the British Government and the Muslim League have lost nothing, but have gained much—the Congress has gained nothing, but has lost much. I shall first deal with the actual losses and I shall then refer to the causes thereof.

If the Simla Conference had been successful, that would have been a major political disaster for the Congress. From that disaster we have been saved by Mr. Jinnah. Nevertheless, the Congress has come out of this affair with its prestige badly damaged. There was absolutely no reason why this should have happened—because, strategically, the Congress was in the strongest position.

A Strange Contrast

To an outside observer, and in contrast with Mr. Jinnah, the Congress leaders appeared to be morally weak, diplomatically inefficient and politically short-sighted. But that does not mean that the Congress leaders are inherently of a low stature. On the contrary, the average Congress leader is normally of a high moral and political stature. He can very well hold his own against any other politician—whether inside India or outside. But on this occasion, the Congress leaders lost their balance and were carried away by their excessive eagerness for a compromise. If they had been cautious and reserved from the very outset, as Mr. Jinnah was, they would not have exhibited any moral weakness, nor would they have committed any political blunder.

In saying that the Congress leaders exhibited moral weakness, I am not giving expression to my personal reaction or to the reaction of Indians in East Asia. I am only stating what the reaction throughout the world was. To illustrate my point, I am quoting below a report sent out from Bombay by a news-agency on the 17th June—which was typical of the numerous messages that were sent out from India for world consumption.

"Bombay, June 17—So far there has been no jarring note in the chorus of greeting from Congress circles to the spirit of the Viceroy's appeal for co-operation and goodwill in removing the Indian deadlock.

"Gandhi has taken his share of responsibility in the initiation of the formula which he believed was the basis of the Viceroy's plan. He said that the conference of Indian leaders at Simla on June 25 can do much good, if those invited attend it in a proper spirit.

"Next in importance to Gandhi's initial reaction was the possible reaction of members of the Congress Working Committee after their release.

"None of them in their statements after release from jail has given any indication of hostility to Wavell's move.

"The nearest approach to aloofness were comments of the General Secretary of All India Congress Committee, J. B. Kripalani who said, 'If you don't get good artistic pictures, does it mean you should decorate your house with inartistic pictures.'

"Neither Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Congress, nor Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru — former President—made any reference, on their release, to the political situation in India, apart from mentioning the Bengal famine. Not a single Congress leader has called into the question the sincerity of the present proposals."

The other factor which was responsible for the Congress Party's lose of prestige was diplomatic inefficiency and political shortsightedness. The Congress Working Committee rushed headlong along the path of compromise—throwing to the winds all caution and reserve. The fundamental principles and resolutions of the Congress, which meant so much for every Congressman, were brushed aside. Independence was forgotten. The anti-war policy of the Congress since 1927 was ignored. The anti-war movement launched in 1940 and further strengthened in 1942 after the adoption of the "Quit India" resolution, was given the go-by. And all this was done behind the back of the All India Congress Committee and the Congress.

Wavell Praised

What is even more strange is that, while diverting the national struggle for complete independence towards the path of compromise with the enemy and of co-operation in the enemy's war-effort, the Congress leaders became completely oblivious of the ordinary canons of diplomacy and statemanship. They went on making commitment after commitment. Lord Wavell's offer was accepted unconditionally. His leadership was also accepted and his sincerity was praised. Lord Wavell was assured of unconditional co-operation, even if the other parties backed out—which meant that the Congress was prepared to go further than other parties in the matter of co-operation with the British Government.

But while making so many dangerous and unilateral commitments, the Congress leaders did not secure any commitment from Lord Wavell. Mr. Jinnah acted otherwise. Not only was he cautious and reserved from the beginning—but from the moment of his first interview with Lord Wavell, he demanded a guarantee that all the seats reserved in the Executive Council for Muslims should go to the Muslim League. Did it not strike the members of the Congress Working Committee that before surrendering to Lord Wavell, they also should obtain an assurance from him that he would not let them down at the last moment, and that if the Muslim League did not co-operate, he would still proceed with the formation of his Executive Council? After the Congress leaders reached Simla, they knew very well that Mr. Jinnah was insisting on the above guarantee from Lord Wavell before committing himself about participating in the new Executive Council. Consequently, there was no excuse whatsoever for their not asking for a similar assurance from Lord Wavell, before offering to co-operate with him.

It may perhaps be argued that the Congress Working Committee did not ask for the above assurance from Lord Wavell, because they believed in his sincerity and were convinced that he would not let them down at the last moment. But to argue thus would mean complete ignorance of Britain's fundamental policy in India and of the true character of British politicians—as well as complete ignorance of the art of diplomacy.

Mistakes Not Rectified

If the Congress leaders made a mistake at the beginning, there was still time to rectify it durnig the three weeks that they spent at Simla, during which the Muslim League's attitude was becoming increasingly clear. Consequently, before the last scene of the Simla drama was enacted, there was plenty of time to retrace one's steps and withdraw the offer of co-operation, on the ground that Lord Wavell was not prepared to guarantee that he would proceed with his plans, even if the Muslim League did not co-operate.

Before the curtain was finally run down on the Simla Conference, the Congress Working Committee got another opportunity for retrieving its lost prestige—but that opportunity, too, was not availed of. In the panel of names that was submitted by the Congress Working Committee, one—or perhaps two—Congress Muslims had been included. News agency reports said that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's name had been included in the panel. Be that as it may, when Lord Wavell dropped the name, or names, of the Congress Muslims and offered four seats to the Muslim League and one seat to the Punjab Unionist Party—the Congress Working Committee had sufficient justification for backing out of the whole affair.

Other mistakes were also committed by the Congress representatives. Firstly, when statements were made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others to the effect that the Congress must come to an agreement with the British Government, Lord Wavell's mind was immediately put at ease. Thinking that the co-operation of the Congress had been assured, Lord Wavell then concentrated his whole attention on placating the Muslim League. Secondly, by spending long hours—and even days—in preparing the panel of names for the Viceroy, without first making sure what Lord Wavell's real intentions were, the Congress Working Committee reckoned without its host and showed lack of the realistic sense. Thirdly, as stated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a public meeting held at Simla on the 15th July, the Congress representatives did not even raise the question of the release of political prisoners at the Simla Conference. Even more objectionable than this attitude of the Working Committee was Pandit Nehru's justification of it when he said that the Congress representatives did not raise the question because they did not want to be accused of being a stumbling block.

After the failure of the Simla Conference, the Congress President issued a statement blaming the Muslim League and the British Government for the failure. But it was too late in the day to do so. Both the Muslim League and the British Government represented by Lord Wavell, did what was anticipated of them. In fact, if either of them had acted otherwise, it would have come as a surprise to us. The Congress President and other members of the Congress Working Committee should blame themselves for not being clever or shrewd enough to foresee what the Muslim League and Lord Wavell would do. Did the Congress Working Committee anticipate that Mr. Jinnah would go into the Executive Council unless he was absolutely sure that by doing so he would realise his dream of Pakistan? Did the Congress Working Committee also anticipate that Lord Wavell would give up the Muslim League and support the Congress?

Facts Crystal Clear

If anybody in the Congress anticipated either of these two things, then he certainly lacks the elementary knowledge of Indian politics. Two things should have been crystal clear to every Congressman at the very outset—firstly, that Mr. Jinnah would not accept any ad interim arrangement which did not ensure the realisation of Pakistan, and secondly, that the British Government would never let down the Muslim League.

To sum up, I should repeat that the Congress Working Committee has come out of this experience with its prestige greatly impaired. Strategically, the Congress was in the strongest position. It was the only party that was fighting the British Government. It was the only party with whom the British Government would have to make peace, if it wanted peace in India. Many of the Congress leaders went to Simla straight from prison, with a halo around them. Is it not therefore heart-breaking to see how they used—or rather misused—their personal popularity, as well as the strategically strong position of the Congress, in their negotiations with Lord Wavell?

Friends! Tonight's talk has become too long and I must therefore stop here. But I have dealt with only the first part of my discourse on the "Lessons of the Simla Conference"—concerning the losses and gains of the major parties attending that Conference. Later, I shall deal with some deeper problems—firstly, as to why the Congress Working Committee rushed in to co-operate with the British Government—and secondly, as to what permanent lessons we can derive from this unfortunate experience.

Before I close, I should like to refer to one other matter. At a time when things were looking gloomy and the Congress leaders seemed to be bent on a compromise with the British Government, I made a remark that our only hope of averting a catastrophic disaster lay in Mahatma Gandhi. Though that hope has not realised, nevertheless, I should gratefully admit that what saved the prestige of the Congress, to a certain extent, was the attitude of reserve adopted by Mahatma Gandhi after his arrival at Simla.

Appeal To Gandhiji

In fact, I have the impression that Mahatmaji was personally not enthusiastic about Lord Wavell's offer or the Simla Conference, but that he was carried away by the enthusiasm of some members of the Congress Working Committee. As for the future, I appeal to Mahatma Gandhi to so guide the Congress that the Simla experience may not be repeated again. We have lost much through this unhappy episode and much effort will be required before we can recover what we have lost. But there will be some consolation for us if we learn the lessons of the Simla Conference and derive the fullest benefit out of them.

Samarinda Highway Now Scene Of Big Fighting

A Nippon Base in the South-west Pacific, July 19 (Domei)—Nippon garrison forces at Balik Papan fiercely retaliated with counter-blows the enemy's bitter shelling on July 15 and carried out a surprise storming attack the same night, killing or wounding 150 enemy troops.

Intense fighting is now in progress on both sides of the Samarinda highway between Nippon defenders and enemy invasion forces.

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